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THE CONSPIRATORS, OR, THE CASE OF CATILINE.

PART II.

By the Author of the Fifft Part.

This Rome, *that once was us'd to conquer Others,*
Has made a ſhameful Conqueſt of Herſelf!

Juſque datum Sceleri canimus, - - - - *Lucan.*

LONDON:
Printed for J. ROBERTS, at the *Oxford Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1721.
Price One Shilling.

THE

CONSPIRATORS,

OR, THE

CASE

OF

CATILINE.

PART II.

By the Author of the Fifth Part.

Tum Roma, sibi cum nox circumdabit Cethegi,
Quos metuit, & Flamma tibi Cassique fuerit!

Hi Tuque datum Sceleri Caniniæ, — — — Lucrete.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1721.

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THE PREFACE.

IT is a remarkable Obſervation of *MENANDER*, the Comic Poet, that the * *Suſpicion* of *having done* any thing, raiſes a *greater Clamour* upon a Man than the very *doing* it: and ſo likewiſe the Suſpicion of any *Pamphlet*'s being intended a *Libel* throws more Scandal on the *Perſon*, at *whom* it is ſuppos'd to be *levell'd*, than the moſt *open* and *declar'd Invective* ever did. Such, in both Caſes, is the Injuſtice of Calumny!

WHAT gave me a Ground for this Reflection, is, that there are Perſons, it ſeems, in the World, who are for turning every thing into a *Libel*. I will be bold

* Τὸ δοκεῖν, ἁβελτὲ ἔχε μείζω τῶ ποιεῖν.
Menand. ex Stobæo.

to ſay, that a Malicious Calumny cannot hurt a Great Man; (tho' it may reflect Diſgrace upon the Author,) nay, on the contrary, it often does him a Service. For Men are apt to *pity* him whom they ſee *injur'd*; and when they perceive a Great Man has been *wrong'd* in *one* Thing, it happens that they will not believe even the *Truths*, that are ſpoken *againſt* him. But wicked Men, indeed, have reaſon to *apprehend* Truth, and therefore it is no Wonder that they *proſecute* it.

JULIUS Cæſar, who was the moſt merciful, and generous of all the *Romans*, never puniſh'd any thing that was ſaid againſt him: and the Wiſe *AUGUSTUS* follow'd his Example in this Particular. He fear'd no invidious Enquiry into his Actions; but allow'd the Populace ſuch a Liberty of deſcanting on him, that he never puniſh'd any Libels againſt his Perſon: and if we may credit *Suetonius* on this Head, he did not only not dread them, but took great Pains to anſwer and refute them: *nec expavit, & magnâ curâ redarguit* *.

* Sueton. in Vitâ Auguſti Cæſaris.

THIS he did by the honeſt Advice of his Firſt Miniſter *Mæcænas*, who gave it as his Opinion, that Calumnies never hurt a good Prince, whoſe Virtues can ſtand the Teſt, and are Proof againſt them; but are only *dangerous* to *wicked* Governors. And *Auguſtus* himſelf was often heard to ſay, that the *Wickedneſs* of the Times *requir'd*, and *deſerv'd* a *Freedom* and *Boldneſs* of Speech. Nor did he find this Practice of any ſmall Advantage to him; for by it he diſcover'd both the *Affections*, and *Grievances* of his People: The latter of which, had *Mæcænas* been a corrupt Miniſter, he would have endeavour'd to have kept from his Knowledge; and of Conſequence, would have advis'd him to *ſuppreſs* and *puniſh* every thing that was written upon the Times as *Libels*.

TIBERIUS, who ſucceeded him, and was a Prince of another Stamp, took a contrary Method in this as well as every other Reſpect. To his Eternal Infamy it is recorded, that he forc'd *M. Æmilius Scaurus* to kill himſelf only for having written the Tragedy of *Atreus*; in which he advis'd the People, who liv'd under the Government of a bad Prince, to be patient, and ſubmit to Tyranny. The Emperor

would have it that the Poet ſtruck at *him* in the Character of *Atreus*, knowing he had committed many Murthers and illegal Outrages: and therefore, with a Mixture of Wit and Malice, he ſaid, *He would make an* Ajax *of* Scaurus, *by forcing him to kill himſelf* ||.

UNDER ſo vile a Government as this of *Tiberius*, a Man muſt be mad that would venture to write upon the Times; when every Truth muſt be Treaſon. In ſuch an Adminiſtration, the moſt diſtant Shadow of a Reflection glares in their Eyes, and they are extremely witty and malicious at making Applications. The ſame flagitious Prince (for his Reign furniſhes many Inſtances of extravagant Tyranny) put a poor Fellow to Death barely for a Jeaſt: but it was one that carried both Truth and Satyr in it. *Auguſtus* had by his laſt Will bequeathed a Legacy to every *Roman* Citizen, which *Tiberius* took no care to ſee diſcharg'd. As a great Funeral paſs'd one day thro' the Streets, a certain Man with much Buſtle and Difficulty preſt thro' the Croud, and whiſper'd ſomething in the Dead Man's Ear. The People flock'd about to know the Mean-

|| Dion Caſſius in Tiberio.

ing

ing of this Whim, and enquir'd into the Contents of the Whisper; when the Person told them, that he had desir'd the Dead Man to inform *Augustus*, that the *Romans* had not yet receiv'd their Legacies. The Informers soon carried this Story to *Tiberius*, who sent for the Man, paid him down his Legacy, and caus'd his Throat to be cut, telling him, *That he might now go himself, and inform* Augustus, *that* One *was paid* †.

THE Freedom of the poor Fellow's Raillery may, perhaps, be stil'd by ill-natur'd People a sufficient Provocation for the Emperor's Barbarity; but all the Actions of this Prince were of a Piece: His was a Reign of Rapine and Blood; and therefore we are the less to wonder at this Cruelty. His Fury extended to all sorts of *Wit* and *Learning*; he found in every Writing some Pretence, or other, for punishing its Authors: He caus'd One Poet to be thrown into Prison, because in his Tragedy of *Agamemnon*, he had not represented that Prince *great* enough, and that Failure in Character was a Reflection upon *all other* Princes. CREMUTIUS CORDUS, the Historian, was accus'd in his Reign,

† Idem & Sueton. in Vitâ Tiberii.

for

for praising *Brutus*, and saying that *Cassius* was the last of the *Romans*: for the vile Sycophants and Flatterers of the Court drew this Inference from the Expression, that if *Cassius* were the last of the *Romans*, *TIBERIUS* could be no *Roman*, and consequently no *Emperor* of *Rome*. Here was *Læsæ Majestatis Crimen* implied, a Traiterous Intention of deposing *Tiberius*; the Author's *Annals* were censur'd as a factious, dangerous, and treasonable *Libel*, and the *Author* himself, a *seditious* Man, in upbraiding the *present* Times by commending the Times *past*.

THE Issue of this virulent Prosecution was, that *Cremutius Cordus* was clap'd up into close Confinement, and restrain'd from every thing that could contribute to make a Prison easy. He had all the Rigour shewn him, which, as *Suetonius* tells us, that Emperor practis'd against *State-Delinquents*: *Quibus custodiæ traditis, non modo Studendi solatium ademptum, sed etiam Sermonis & Colloquii Usus*; when they were thrown into Prison, they were not only deny'd the *Conversation* of *Friends*, but the Use of *Pen* and *Ink*, the *Means* and *Comfort* of *Study*. Thus it has ever been in wicked and Tyrannical Governments; and all that we can say for it is, in the

Words

Words of our homely *English* Proverb, *The* Gall'd Horſe *will* Wince.

THESE rigorous Expoſitions call to my Mind a ſhrewd Obſervation of *BEN. JOHNSON's* in his Play of *Sejanus*.

It is an Argument the Times are ſore,
When Virtue cannot ſafely be advanc'd,
Nor Vice reprov'd. ——

WHERE extravagant and invidious Comments will paſs for Conviction, there is nothing that was ever written, or ſpoken, but may be wreſted to a *Libel*. There are a Set of Men who infeſt the Law, and ſwarm about wicked Governors, with the *buſy Impertinence* of *Informations*: Theſe are very ready to ſcent out Precedents againſt any Man, who falls under the Spleen of Power, expecting that way to puſh for Preferment: and where neither Law or Precedent is to be found, they labour with *Rounds*, and *Doubles*, and *Innuendo's*, to ſcrue an innocent Man into the Snare.

THE Orators of this Kind, are much like the *hungry Wolf*, that was under a Vow of Abſtinence from all manner of *Fleſh*: but ſeeing a fat *Hog*, that wallow-

ed

ed happily in the Mire, his *Stomach* began to be too powerful for his *Conscience*, and he thus palliated the Matter to himself; *I have read*, says He, *in some Author, either Ancient or Modern, I cannot remember which, that* Porcus *is* Latin *for a* certain Fish; *and therefore tho' I cannot eat him as a* Hog, *I may make a good Dinner on him as a* Fish; *and never break my Vow of Abstinence.*

WITH much such Ingenuity of Reasoning as This, are *innocent* Men worried by the *Wolves* of the *Law*, where evil Men preside. But to the Honour of our ENGLISH Annals let it be remembred, that we have no such ridiculous Examples of the Rage of Power. The Generosity of *English* Spirits gives Indulgence to *Truth*, even when *unpleasing*: We think, as the Great *ISOCRATES* did, that *They who dare to utter* Truth, *ought to be of greater Authority with all Princes, than They who say* Every thing *to curry* Favour, *and yet say* Nothing *worthy of* that Favour. *

* Ἐγὼ γοῦν οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τῶν μισοδεσποτοτάτων φθονοίμην τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποφαινόμενος, ὧν ἅπαντα μὲν ἄξιον λόγου, μηδὲν δὲ ἄξιον χάριτος λέγεται.

Isocr. in Epistola ad Philippum.

THE

THE CONSPIRATORS; OR, THE CASE of CATILINE, &c.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

HE, that writes upon the History of the Antients, can, perhaps, be look'd upon as no more than a Collector of other Men's Works; and therefore can expect but little Reputation from the Nature of his Performance: But then there is a Judgment requisite to distinguish the profitable from the useless, and giving such Examples as may instruct as well as delight the Readers: And here the Au-

thor puts in his Claim for Applauſe. An ingenious Hiſtorian muſt imitate the Induſtry of the Bee, who, ranging about for Food, ſucks his Honey from the choiceſt Flowers of the Garden, without meddling with Weeds or Rubbiſh: And thus he comes Home laden with all the Sweetneſs of the Seaſon, and diſcharges his little Burthen for the common Uſe of his Fellow-Citizens of the Hive. A curious Hiſtorian, in the like manner, by collecting the Flowers of all Authors that have wrote before him, and by diſpoſing them into Method and Order, may form a Piece more grateful and uſeful to Mankind, than reading the prolix Paſſages, from which they are drawn, at Length in their Originals could poſſibly be.

I COULD be well enough pleas'd to deſcant on the Uſefulneſs of Hiſtorical Treatiſes in General, but that the Theme has been very well handled already. I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with obſerving, that when the Pen is employ'd on Actions *remote* in Time, both the Author and his Readers have this Advantage, that they are at once diveſted both of *Favour* and *Prejudice*. To ſpeak for my ſelf, I account this a very peculiar Privilege: I don't know whether I am to compliment my own good Nature and candid Diſpoſition; but I am ſure were I to write of *modern* Facts, eſpecially where the Perſons of my *Contemporaries* are concern'd, I find it in my Temper to be ſo *partial*, that all my *Arguments* and *Characters* would lean on the Side of *Flattery*.

IT

IT is a Remark of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s in his applauded Hiſtory, that it was not uncommendable in *Livy* to ſpeak the beſt of his own Citizens: And, where they did ill, to ſay, that without their own great Folly they had done paſſing well: For all Hiſtorians love to extol their own Countrymen, and where a Loſs cannot be diſſembled, nor the Honour of a Victory taken from the Enemy and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the Blame on ſome ſtrange Miſgovernment of their own Forces. In the like manner, were I to write the Hiſtory and fatal Conſequences of the *South-Sea* Project, I have ſuch a Veneration for the *fine Spirits* and *uncorrupted Honeſty* of my Countrymen, that I ſhould conclude it calculated for the Benefit of the Nation; and, had it not been perverted by ſome *Fools* or *Knaves* in Truſt, the Scheme muſt have done paſſing well.

† ANOTHER learned Countryman of ours, I remember, ſays, that judicious Hiſtorians generally chuſe to give us the Hiſtories of *Commonwealths*, rather than of particular Perſons: And, where they give us *Lives*, they are generally of thoſe who have been moſt *active* in *publick Concerns*. I have ſo far fallen in with the Sentiments of this Writer, in the Choice of my Subjects, that I have taken Care to treat of Men, in whoſe Actions the Intereſts of the Commonwealth have been deeply interwoven. *CATILINE*, 'tis known, was practiſing the very Subverſion

† Mr. *Dodwell* in his Invitation to the Reading of *ancient Hiſtory*.

verſion and Ruin of his Country; and has left an eternal Reproach on himſelf and Family, by the deteſtable Conſpiracy in which he was imbark'd.

THERE is another prudential Step, which I have endeavour'd to take, and that is, to treat of a *Commonwealth*, rather than of *Monarchy*. I know, as ‖ *SALUST* ſaid in his Oration to *JULIUS CÆSAR*, *Quam difficile, atque aſperum factu ſit, Conſilium dare Regi, aut Imperatori.* Under a Kingly Government, the very Shadow of Direction from a private Man, is conſtrued *Inſolence* and *Diſaffection*.

AND yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that a diſintereſted Subject is often capable of giving his Prince Advice, and his Prince as often ſtands in Need of it. For, in a Kingly Form of Government, it is ſo much the *Intereſt* and *Security* of *flattering Stateſmen* to amuſe their Prince with falſe Shews of Things, to keep him a Stranger to Grumblings and Diſcontents, and the Sentiments of the Subject on Male-Adminiſtration; that tho' a Country is embarraſs'd with *Want* and *Debts*; its *Credit* ſunk, and its *Trade* expiring; they repreſent it *flouriſhing* in every Branch under his Government; they call its very *Misfortunes* the *Happineſs* and *Bleſſing* of his *Care* and *Wiſdom*, and perſwade him the *Proſperity* and *good Fortune* of the Kingdom ſubſiſt only under his *auſpicious Power* and *Councils*.

THIS

‖ Oratione primâ de Republicâ ordinandâ.

THIS cuſtomary Diſguiſe, put on the Face of Affairs in all Governments, brings to my Mind the Fable of the *Quack* and the *Sick* Man: A poor Soul was almoſt at the Point of Death, under a Complication of ill Symptoms, and the Doctor asks him, Pray, Sir, How do you find your ſelf? *Why, truly,* ſays the Patient, *I have had a violent Sweat upon me.* Oh! the beſt Sign in the whole World, ſays the Doctor. And then a little while after, and he is at it again with a ——Well, but how do you find your Body? *Alas,* replies the ſuffering Patient, *I have juſt now ſuch a terrible Fit of Horror and Shaking upon me.——Why, this is all as it ſhould be,* ſays the Phyſician, *it ſhews a mighty Strength of Nature.* And then he comes over him a third Time with the ſame Queſtion again: *Why, I am all ſwell'd,* ſays the other, *as if I had the Dropſy.* Beſt of all, quoth the Doctor, and ſo he goes his Way. Soon after this comes one of the Sick Man's Friends to him with the ſame Queſtion, How he felt himſelf? *Why, truly, ſo well,* ſays he, *that I am e'en ready to die of I know not how many* good Signs *and* Tokens.

IT is juſt the ſame Caſe in Governments: There are *Emperical Stateſmen* as well as *Doctors*; that feed Governours with falſe Repreſentations and Reports of Men, and of Things; they betray their Maſters to Diſhonour and Ruin, and, as Sir *Roger l'Eſtrange* obſerves, when that find the Veſſel ſinking, ſave themſelves in the Long-Boat.

EVERY body knows, and therefore I need not dwell on this Argument, that Princes are flatter'd,

flatter'd, and impos'd on in the Affairs of State, out of private Views in the Persons that represent, or out of private Compliments to Royal Ignorance. Now, as Kings are accustom'd to nothing so much as to their *own Praises*; so they are accustom'd to nothing so little as to hear *Truth*. This makes it, as I above hinted, much more safe for a Writer that lives under a *Regal* Form of Government, to employ his Pen on what is transacted in a *Republick*: For, if he offers to advance any bold Maxims, if he should presume to think that *Princes are accountable for their Time to the People*; or, as *Milton* in his Answer to *Salmasius* courtly expresses himself, that *a Prince is but a first Servant of the People*; if he should say, that *Kings* are not rais'd to that Eminence, only to be gaz'd at, bow'd to, or reverenc'd: That, in publick *Calamities*, they ought to *mourn* in the *Miseries* of their *Subjects*; or, as † *PLUTARCH* finely observes, that *neglecting the Affairs of the People, and pursuing Pleasures, is a Degree of Tyranny in Princes*: If, I say, he should take this Liberty of moralizing, it would be call'd a *Contempt*, a *Libel* on the Dignity of the *Crown*; and the *Law* would, perhaps, be *strain'd* beyond the *Letter*, to make the Author *sensible* of his Insolence. But I cannot help concluding in the Words of a very wise Man, *Desperata ejus Principis Salus est, cujus aures ita formatæ sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiant*; That Prince's Safety is in a desperate Case, whose Ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is harsh and unpleasant.

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† In his Comparison betwixt *Sylla* and *Lysander*.

I SHALL take the Liberty of a few more digreſſionary Obſervations, which however ſhall ſerve to open the Way to my Deſign in the Continuation of theſe Memoirs.

IT is common for Men, when they ſuffer in their Intereſts, to be very loud in Complaints againſt the ſuppos'd Cauſes of their Misfortunes; they can look on unconcern'd at the Miſeries of their Fellow-Citizens, while they themſelves are perſonally unhurt; and never ſtir till the Fire is coming to their own Doors: Then, as *Horace* proverbially reaſons,

Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,

WHEN the Flame comes near enough to ſcorch us, it becomes our own immediate Caſe, and we begin to be upon the Alarm. I am a Lover of Stories, and give me Leave to tell a pleaſant one upon this Subject from the ingenious Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*. A certain *Philazer*, in the Time of OLIVER, when the *Diſcontents* of the People were high againſt the Set of Raſcals who had the Adminiſtration then in their Hands, was always praiſing the *Wiſdom*, the *Juſtice*, and *Honeſty* of the Government: But a Deſign being talk'd of for ſuppreſſing the *Philazers* Office, our obedient *Fanatick* immediately chang'd his Note, he found out his *Patriots* to be a Set of the moſt *impious Villains* that ever were plac'd at the Head of a Nation, they were *Murtherers* and *Robbers*, they had cut off the beſt of Kings that ever reign'd, they had beheaded the Biſhops, pillag'd the People, overturn'd the Church, and what was more

mon-

monſtrous and ſacrilegious than all the reſt, *were now labouring to ſuppreſs the* Philazers!—— This, in general, is the deprav'd Nature of Mankind, we love, we hate, we obey, for Intereſt: And the Cauſe muſt be from a Want of *Senſe*, or a Want of *Honeſty*: And, perhaps, at this Time there may be in the World a moſt *plentiful Lack* of both.

MANY among us, who are now murmuring out our Complaints, were once as vehement in the Praiſes of the Men we take upon us to condemn. I ſhall not aſſume the Province of determining which is done with moſt Reaſon; for I am reſolv'd not to meddle with *domeſtick* Affairs: I am no *Stateſman*, but an *Hiſtorian*: What I am doing is with a good Deſign, to quiet the Minds of Men, and make them aſham'd of their unreaſonable Clamours. Nothing in Nature is ſo contemptible as a Fool; and one of the moſt ſignal Marks of a Fool, is Fickleneſs of Mind. Let thoſe who fancy themſelves ſo injur'd now, examine the Hiſtories of *other* Nations, and of *other* Times, and they may chance to find a great Part of their Reflexions upon their Fellow-Citizens to be *partial* and *unjuſt*. To demonſtrate this, and with no other View, I have taken the Pains to finiſh theſe *MEMOIRS*, and to let Men ſee that *Villany* is not originally of *Engliſh* Growth, but flouriſh'd beyond the *Alps* many Ages ſince. Arts and Sciences ſometimes die, and ſeem loſt to the World; but after having ſlept a Revolution of Ages, are diſcover'd again and reviv'd by ſome ingenious Spirit: I won't ſay the ſame of *Roguery*, becauſe I'll make no Applications.

TO

TO draw nearer to my Design, the unhappy may find some Comfort in comparing themselves to the more unhappy; and their Anger, against those who have injur'd them, will lessen, when they perceive others have been more strongly injur'd by more flagrant Villains. For my own Part, I am safe, for *CATILINE* is dead; and I suppose his *Spirit* is dead with him. All the *Abettors*, *Aiders*, and *Accomplices* of this horrid *Conspiracy* are now no more; they have long since met the Rewards of all their impious Practises. The *Justice* of the Immortal Gods, which is neither to be *brib'd* by *Gold*, nor *influenc'd* by *Party*, has long since laid hold of these Wretches: An Opinion that I venture to maintain, notwithstanding it is grown so unfashionable, and is so exploded. For there are Men at this Day, with whose Principles *CATO*'s Accusation will suit, that believe *Hell* to be a mere *Fiction*, and that the Souls of the *Good* and the *Wicked* have the *same* Portion and Allotment after Death. †

BEFORE I enter upon the Remainder of my History, I think it highly to my Purpose to make some Reflexions upon a Maxim of *MACHIAVEL*'s, which has very much the Air and Countenance of a *Paradox*, to wit, that the *Disagreement* of the *People* and the *Senate* of *Rome* made that Commonwealth both *free* and *mighty*. For it is most evident, that the Agreement of the *Senate*, and the *Tribunes* of the *People*, in suf-

† Credo, falsa existumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur, diverso itinere malos à bonis, loca tætra, inculta, fœda, atque formidolosa habere. Sal. in bello Catilinario.

fering *CATILINE* and his *Accomplices* to escape *publick* Puniſhment, was as certainly the *Ruin* of that Commonwealth: So that Concord, in this Caſe, produc'd Confuſion, Ruin, and Diſorder.

I KNOW that ſome Politicians ſtrenuouſly maintain, that *Rome* was a moſt diſorderly Commonwealth, and diſturb'd with ſo many Seditions, that if their great Virtue and military Diſcipline had not ſupply'd other Defects, it would have been inferior to any Republick now in the World. It is not to be denied, indeed, but that Virtue, good Fortune, and military Diſcipline, were the Cauſes of the *Roman* Grandeur. Theſe naturally produce each other; where there is Virtue and good Diſcipline, there will be Order; and where there is Order, there is commonly good Fortune. And yet I ſhall not ſcruple to maintain, tho' it may ſtartle ſome Men at firſt View, that all Theſe proceeded from the *Tumults* and *Civil Broils* that aroſe in the City of *Rome*.

FOR, if we examine all the Tumults that happen'd in *Rome*, from the Death of the *Tarquins* to the Creation of the *Tribunes*, and from thence till the Days of *Marius*, and *Sylla*, and afterwards of our *CATILINE*, we ſhall find that all theſe Commotions were occaſion'd by ſome *Incroachments*, which were attempted by the *Government* againſt the *Liberty* of the People. For it was a long Time before *Gold* had any Influence in *Rome*, to corrupt the *Virtue* of her *Patriots*; Therefore the *Tribunes* of the People, who were the Guardians of their Liberties, being Proof againſt all Temptation, never gave up one Tittle

of

of their ſacred Rights, which, to their immortal Honour, they kept for ſo many Ages inviolable.

THE *Tribunes* thus acting up to the Duty of their Truſt, and oppoſing the moſt diſtant Deſigns of the great Men againſt the People, were wont to make publick the Tranſactions of the *Senate*: The People, by this Means, taking Alarm when they ſaw their Liberties aim'd at by ſome new Law, were accuſtom'd to run tumultuouſly through the Streets, to ſhut up their Houſes, aſſemble in Numbers, and ſo reſort in Bodies to the Senate-Houſe, calling out and exclaiming againſt them: And tho' this Cuſtom may ſeem extravagant, and a little outragious, yet it produc'd an admirable Effect: For it kept the *Great Ones* in Awe of the *People's* Reſentments, and hinder'd them from proceeding in any *Arbitrary* Law.

MACHIAVEL upon this Subject obſerves, that every City has its peculiar Ways, and this was one peculiar to the *Romans*: It was the Method they purſued of venting their Diſcontents, and letting their Superiors know wherein they diſlik'd their Proceedings. Let no Man therefore, *ſays he*, call *Rome* a diſorderly Commonwealth; for good Examples proceed from good Education, good Education from good Laws, and good Laws from theſe very Tumults which ſome take upon them without Judgment to condemn.

CICERO, I remember, ſays, that the Deſires of a free People never tend to the Subverſion of

Liberty; and that their Diſcontents proceed either from actual Oppreſſion, or from ſome Danger, which they foreſee, of falling into it. And in Caſe the *People* ſhould be *deceiv'd* in their *Opinions* of Things, there is nothing more eaſy than to ſet them right, if ſome *Orator* of *Honeſty* and *Credit*, will but take the Pains to ſhew them their Errors: For the People have a Capacity of comprehending Truth, they love it, and willingly ſubmit to it. 'Tis therefore doubtleſs, that the People are the beſt Guardians of Liberty; and if we look back into the *Roman* Hiſtory, we ſhall find, that from the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, to the Time of the *Gracchi*, which took in the Space of Three Hundred Years, the Civil Broils in *Rome* ſeldom caus'd *Baniſhment*; and much ſeldomer the Shedding of Blood. I ſay, that in all that Period of Time, their civil Diſcord did not occaſion the Baniſhment of more than ten *Romans*, and very few were fatigued with pecuniary Puniſhments. But in the Time of *CATILINE*, whoſe Hiſtory we are writing, when Gold had influenc'd the Minds and Affections of Men, and the *Tribunes* of the People ſo ſhamefully ſold the Liberty of the *Romans*, there was a villanous Harmony in the Senate, the Cauſe of all the Murthers, Depredations, Taxes, and Innovations of Government which follow'd.

THERE was one material Circumſtance in the Management of the *Conſpirators*, which we forbore to touch upon in the firſt Part of theſe Memoirs; I mean their Oppreſſion of *METELLUS*, a moſt noble *Roman*. He was, indeed, the Darling of the People, and boaſted the Spirit of a true *Roman* Heroe: His Notions of Ho-

nour

nour were so exalted, that he scarce believ'd it possible for a Man to be a Villain, till he was convinc'd of it by many Instances from the Wretches whom he had taken out of Dirt and Misery.

THE Authors of that Age make this remarkable Observation on the Fortunes of *Metellus* and of *Marcus Crassus*. The latter, they say, was so happy as never to have met with *Ingratitude* from any Man; and the Reason was, because he had never *serv'd* any one: But the former, who was a Lover of Mankind, and scatter'd his Benefits with an unceasing Hand, was generally *betray'd* by the Persons that were *inrich'd* by his *Bounty*. His House was an *Asylum* to which all the miserable repair'd for Refuge; and he thought every Man intituled to his Favour, who was unhappy. To be a *Roman*, and be poor, was all the Merit that he look'd for in the Object, on whom he intended to bestow a Benefit; and he judg'd it a kind of Robbery to with-hold his Hand, where Indigence laid Claim to his Protection.

THESE were the Virtues that made *Metellus* ador'd by his Country, and which doubled their Respect and Veneration for those Honours which they paid to his high Birth and Quality; for he was of the *first* Rank of *Patricians*; and so implicit a Faith did the *Romans* pay to his great Worth and Honour, that if any thing was propos'd in the Senate, the People were attentive to observe which Side of the Question *Metellus* embrac'd, and to that Side they were sure to give their Voices. For it was a Maxim among them, that *the best and most generous* Roman *in the World must always be*

be in the Right. Nor was the Wife of *Metellus* inferior to her Lord, either in the Honours of her Birth, or Virtues of her Mind: Her good Nature and Benevolence went Hand in Hand with his; and never were two Tempers so equally match'd, except in *Marcus Crassus* and his Wife, in whom there was as remarkable a *Concurrence* in the Extream of *Sordidness*.

THE *Conspirators* therefore hating the Merit and Popularity of the generous *Metellus*, (whose Virtue shone upon them with so strong a Lustre, that, like Owls, and other Birds of Night, that cannot bear the Light of the Sun, they seem'd blinded with his Rays,) plotted together to bring about his Ruine. As the most material Step towards perpetrating their more wicked Designs, the *Cabal*, or *Rabble* of *Senators* of CATILINE's Party, open'd against him, and endeavour'd to blacken him with *Calumnies* and *invidious* Accusations. But *Metellus*, who knew both how dear he was to the People, and how fiercely he should be worried by the *State-Beagles*, disdain'd to give them an *ineffectual* Answer, and determin'd to withdraw himself from *Rome*, which now was grown such a Sink of Corruption, that it was not worthy of the Presence of a noble *Roman*. When many of the Patricians and better Sort gather'd about him, and offer'd him their Service, he would not suffer them to raise a Sedition upon his Account, but was obstinately bent to a Retirement, saying, *Either when the Posture of Affairs is mended, and the People repent, I shall be recall'd; or if Things remain in the present Posture, it is preferable to me to be absent.*

* The Departure of *Metellus* was Matter of Triumph to the Faction, and ſatisfied both their Wiſhes and Reſentments: For they immediately fell to pillaging his Goods, and made an Edict for the keeping him in Baniſhment. And from this Period may properly be dated the Beginning of CATILINE's *Conſpiracy*.

METELLUS, having thus withdrawn from *Rome*, was receiv'd with great Favour and Honour at *Rhodes*: And tho' ſtript of his Fortunes, and a Dependant on that State, he ſtill kept up his old Generoſity of Spirit and Love to his Countreymen: For no *Roman*, either diſtreſs'd by *Shipwrack*, or under other Neceſſities, was caſt on that Iſland, but reſorted to *Metellus*, and found his Purſe open to their Wants: We ſhould not fail of numerous Inſtances of this his Bounty, had † *Plutarch* left us his *Life* as he intended to have done: But either that Author did not live to perform this deſirable Tract, or it has had the Fate of many other valuable Pieces, to be loſt by the Injury of Time.

I THINK it cannot be diſpleaſing here, to take a ſhort Notice of the Poſture of civil Affairs at this *Criſis* in *Rome*; that the Reader, who, perhaps, may conceive an high Opinion of the Dignity of that Commonwealth, may not be ſo

* Metellus optimis viris ad ſe concurrentibus, non permiſit ſuâ cauſâ ſeditionem exoriri, verùm optimâ ratione uſus, urbe egreſſus, inquit: Vel Ego in Patriam revocabor, cùm melius Reſpublica habebit, & Plebs reſipiet; vel ſi eodem modo habebit, abeſſe præſtiterit.

Plut. in Vitâ C. Marii.

† Plutarch in vitâ C. Marii.

much

much surpriz'd at the mean and contemptible Things that were now transacted. † It was an Old Institution at *Rome*, that the Citizen who was qualified to be elected a Senator, must be worth 800 *Sestertia*: But *CATILINE* and his Faction found a way to evade this Law, and procur'd several Vagabond Persons to be call'd up into the Senate. These of Consequence were to make a Trade of their new Honours, and whether the Affair depending concern'd private Property, or some Business of the Commonwealth, they always went on that Side where the most Money was stirring. When such Men as these were once in Possession of this Dignity, their Business was to keep themselves so: In Order to which, they took away from the People their *Comitia*, which was a Priviledge the *Romans* had of meeting at certain stated Times, being lawfully call'd by a Magistrate, to chuse Men, and determine of Things by their Votes. ‖ For had these *Comitia* been continued and allow'd, they were under Apprehensions of being call'd to Account for their *Corruptions*; and as *C. Memmius* in his celebrated Speech upon another Occasion observ'd, *Majus Dedecus est parta amittere, quàm omnino non paravisse.* *

WE finish'd the first Part of these Memoirs (for a short Recapitulation seems to me very necessary) with the triumphant Acquittal of *CATILINE*, the seeming Conviction of *Amius*, and the Characters of several of the Accompli-

† P. Minutius de Civ. Rom. ‖ Sigonius de Antiquo Jure Civ. Romanor. l. 1. cap. 17.

* Salust. in bello Jugurthino.

ces;

ces; But the Enquiries did not end here: The Management of the Conſpirators was ſo intricate and perplex'd, that it lengthen'd out the Proceedings of the Senate, by trifling Digreſſions, by propoſing inſignificant Edicts, to amuſe, divert, and delay the important Diſcoveries before them. For, as we elſewhere have obſerv'd, there was a falſe Zeal at the Beginning which ſhew'd it ſelf in the Senate, and which was to be cool'd and taken off by Degrees, and this was the Work of Time.

WE have already declar'd, by what Artifices this was brought about, in our Relation of the *Trial* of *CATILINE*; and with what infinite Succeſs, in favour of the *Conſpirators*. But upon every new Accuſation, there were new Applications to be made to thoſe Senators of a forgiving, pacifick Diſpoſition, who never would give their Votes before they felt the Merits of the Cauſe. And tho' Hiſtory has been very ſevere in its Remarks upon the Proceedings of ſome of theſe Senators, concerning the Number of Things which they did againſt the Senſe of the People, and Advantage of the Commonwealth: Yet thus much may be ſaid in their Commendation (which I hope, is ſome ſmall Degree of Praiſe) that the corrupt Part of the Senators never voted for one *Edict* or *Reſolution* contrary to the *Intereſt* of the *People* without being *paid* for it.

THUS did this Stream of Corruption, like a furious Current that has ſwell'd above its Banks, bear down every Thing before it, drowning the Neighbouring Plains, ſweeping away

whatever oppos'd its way, and leaving a Deſolation not to be expreſs'd. Yet, even then, there were ſeveral Virtuous and truly Noble *Romans*, among the Senators; but few were their Numbers, and not able to oppoſe the mighty Strength which warr'd againſt them,

Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis
Tempus eget - - - - - Virg.

AND this it was that made the knaviſh Cabal amongſt them great, opulent, and mighty: For it is certain, that if there had been no Men of Honour at that Time in the Senate, the being a Villain would have been a very poor Trade: and thus the little Oppoſition that was made againſt them, faint as it was, was ſufficient to make them diſtinguiſh themſelves in that horrid Light, in which we view them at ſo many Ages diſtance, but at the ſame time made them Great.

THIS artificial way of managing the Senate, it is thought, that CATILINE learn'd from *Sylla*; who once propoſing to the Senate to raiſe a Tax upon the People of five hundred Talents, *Decius Paterculus*, a Senator, oppos'd it. This *Paterculus* was a Leader of a great Party, a Man of equal *Honour*, but of much greater *Capacity* than our *Hortenſius*: He made an Harangue againſt this Cuſtom of plundering the People, and by his Intereſt, and that of the honeſt Senators, who join'd with him upon this Occaſion, the Propoſal was thrown out with Scorn and Diſgrace. But *Sylla*, and his Faction, fancying this Man to be made of a pliant ſort of Mettle, tempted him privately with the Offer of a large Bribe, on Condition

Condition that he would joyn with them in paſſing an Edict for levying the above mentioned Sum upon the Publick. *Paterculus*, being ſoftned with the Offer of the Bribe, told them that they wanted half the Qualifications of Rogues; for you have nothing, *ſaid He*, but the Will, without the Art, Cunning, or Wit, that is neceſſary in managing difficult and villanous Projects. Thereupon he adviſ'd them to bring the Affair on again, but that, inſtead of propoſing *five hundred* Talents, they ſhould demand a *Thouſand*: and upon Condition they would give half that Sum to be diſpos'd of at his Diſcretion, among the Senators who had no Averſion to Money, he undertook that their Point ſhould be carried.

THE Day being come, when this Affair was repropos'd to the Senate, *Paterculus* took Care to be the firſt Man, who roſe up, and oppos'd this Demand. Looking round him with a Face of diſſembled Wonder and Surprize, Moſt Wiſe and Noble Fathers, *ſaid he*, Is it not aſtoniſhing to hear theſe Men propoſe a Tax of a *Thouſand* Talents to be raiſed upon the People, when we could not find the leaſt *Shadow* or *Pretence* for granting *Five Hundred?* It looks to me as if they were confident of ſucceeding, otherwiſe they never would have riſen thus in their Demands. For my own Part, I muſt confeſs, I have ſo far chang'd my Sentiments upon this Matter, that I would adviſe every honeſt *Roman*, who has the leaſt Tenderneſs, or Concern for the Poor People, to grant this Levy without any further Debate, or Enquiry about the Unreaſonableneſs of it, leſt if we again perſiſt to refuſe, they ſhould advance their Demand to *Two thouſand* Talents.

THUS was this unhappy People banter'd and laugh'd into Miſery; and the Fruits of their Induſtry, and the Labours of their Years, taken from them in Sport. But, in the Hiſtory which we are writing, the People muſt of Neceſſity be in deplorable Circumſtances, when the *Criminals* were themſelves the *Judges*, or at leaſt ſo many of the *Judges* were the *Criminals*. Continual Levies were made upon the People by the preſiding Faction, upon the moſt unreaſonable and ridiculous Pretences: whereas the poor People knew very well that all theſe *Exactions* were diſpos'd of in *Bribes* among the *Senators*; and as often as there was any important Queſtion depending in the Senate, it was attended with a new Tax, which was to be adminiſtred to the corrupt Senators like a ſweet Draught, in order to make them digeſt a bitter Pill; Inſomuch, that That Form of Government, which, before it was abus'd, maintain'd ſo beautiful an Order, and for many Ages diſpers'd ſuch Harmony in the Minds of Men of all Degrees, now lay upon the Necks of the People, like a heavy Yoak: and many, who lov'd their Country, and would have died in Defence of its Conſtitution, if the leaſt Innovation had been attempted, ſeeing how it was abus'd in the Adminiſtration, thought Monarchy, and even Tyranny it ſelf, preferable to ſo corrupt a Senate. For every Thing was now done, which a *Tyrant* in his Luſt of Power would have done; with this Difference, that whereas a *Tyrant* would have done it by his own *Authority*, it now was obtain'd by *Bribery*; which of conſequence was ſo much more burthenſom to the People, becauſe they paid more heavily for it.

BUT

BUT to return to the Series of my Story;

AS ſoon as *CATILINE* was acquitted, He and *Hortenſius* play'd the Part of two Jugglers, whoſe Buſineſs is to impoſe on the Croud by Confederacy: And *now* mighty Diſcoveries were to be made, and great Severities inflicted; and *now* again, theſe Diſcoveries would not amount to any Conviction, and conſequently the Expectations of Puniſhment were diſappointed. The great Buſineſs that they had upon their Hands, was to amuſe the People, and endeavour to take off the Fury of their juſt Reſentments. Every Day produc'd a falſe Rumour; and whenever a Conſpirator was acquitted, a Report was induſtriouſly ſpread, that He ſhould ſtand a ſecond Trial. This a little appeas'd the violent Clamours. Another Report, which they caus'd to paſs among the People, was, that *CATILINE* and the reſt would come *voluntarily*, and *refund* the People's Money.

IN the mean time, to make a little Shew of Juſtice, they reſolv'd to puniſh certain *Inferior* Perſons, who were not in the Conſpiracy, but had been ſubſervient to them in carrying it on, without being in the Secret of the Wickedneſs that was deſign'd by it. This gave Occaſion to many vehement Debates; and there was much Diviſion touching the Quality of the Puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted. Some thought, as the People had been ſo pillag'd and defrauded, that Death could not be too much for ſuch Crimes: But the Number were for mitigating this Sentence. One, who was ſuſpected of being himſelf

ſelf guilty, made an Harangue againſt theſe Men; but contended ſtrongly that their Puniſhment ought not to affect their Lives; *He was not*, he ſaid, *for having them ſpar'd to ſtrengthen* CATILINE's *Party, but he would adviſe a Pecuniary Puniſhment, and that their Perſons ſhould be confin'd in ſtrong Hold: That no Applications ſhould be made thereafter either to the Senate, or People in their favour: And that whoever ſhould attempt it, ſhould be look'd upon as an Enemy to the Republick and Common Safety.* * This palliating Speech contain'd Reaſons for ſparing the Conſpirators, upon pretence that the Laws had provided no Puniſhments for ſuch Crimes as theirs; that it would not be juſt to make Laws after the Facts committed; and that tho' the Greatneſs of their Crimes had exceeded all Imagination, yet he would have them puniſh'd no otherwiſe than as the Laws had provided †

THO' theſe Points were handled with much Art and Eloquence, *CATO* perceiv'd the Cunning and Deſign of this Harangue, and anſwer'd it by a fine Oration, which is extant in all its Length in *Saluſt*. He gives Reaſons from the Nature of their Crimes, as well as for the Safety of

* Placet igitur eos dimitti, & augeri Exercitum Catilinæ? minumè. Sed ità cenſeo; publicandas eorum pecunias: ipſos in Vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxumè opibus valent; neu quis de his poſtea ad Senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui alitèr fecerit, Senatum exiſtumare, eum contra Rempublicam, & Salutem omnium facturum. Sal. in bello Catilin.

† Nam ſi digna Pæna pro Factis eorum reperitur, novum Conſilium approbo: ſin Magnitudo Sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat, ijs utendum cenſeo, quæ Legibus comparata ſunt. Idem *ibid.*

of the Commonwealth, why they ſhould every Man be cut off. He puts them in Mind, how many Times the Gods had ſav'd the Commonwealth, but tells them, that the Divine Protection is not to be ſought by the Tears of Women; but that Things ſucceed by Vigilance, good Counſel, and Activity. He likewiſe reminds them, that *Manlius Torquatus* had caus'd his Son to be put to Death, only for diſobeying his Orders; and could it be a Queſtion in that Senate, what muſt be done with a Crew of profligate Traytors, Plunderers, and Deſpoilers? And then he proceeded to enumerate the Calamities, which they had brought upon the Commonwealth, the Diſcouragements that had been ſhewn to *Virtue*, and *Honour*; inſtead of which they had introduc'd *Luxury* and *Avarice*, *Publick Poverty*, and *Wealth* amaſs'd in *Private Hands*.

WHILE the Affair of Puniſhment was thus controverted in the Senate, while every Tongue preſum'd to name and cenſure the Guilty, and every honeſt Heart was wiſhing that they might receive the Rewards of their Treachery, the *foreign Courtezans*, whom we have mention'd in the firſt Part of our Memoirs, were extreamly terrified at every Step of theſe Diſcoveries, and every Debate that aroſe upon the Enquiries of the Senate. They expected nothing leſs than to be made publick Examples to frighten all *Concubines* for the future from medling with any thing out of their own Way.

IT is pretty obſervable, that all Countries and all Ages have agreed in their Sentiments in this one Point, that they have thought it a *Grievance*,

vance, that the *Ladies* of *Pleasure* should be inrich'd by the *Spoils* of the *Publick*. This was a particular Heart-burning at *Rome*; they could not bear to see these prodigal Dames flourishing in the Substance of the *ruin'd* Citizens: And there has been a Time in *England*, when Murmurs have arose from the self-same Discontent; for as Sir *Walter Raleigh* curiously observes, *it hath never griev'd the Subject to give to their King, but when they knew there was a* devouring Lady, *that had her Share in all things that pass'd.* *

BUT these successful *Harlots* coming off beyond all Expectation, their Transports now were equal to their Fears before. The same prevailing Argument that made others Innocent protected them from too severe a Scrutiny. (*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames!*) Our Authorities, indeed, say, that a certain noble Senator was for bringing them upon Examination, but it was a Work of too much Honesty to be effected, tho' the very Reasons that were used to have them spar'd, should have been turn'd to inhance their Punishments; to wit, that they having sent all their Dividend of the Plunder into the Country of the *Allobroges*, which was their Native Land, it would be impossible to make them refund, since there was no coming at their Money, or making them give it back at that Distance.

YOUNG *Verres*, as we have formerly taken Notice, was Agent for these *foreign Courtezans*, in procuring them a Share of Money in the

* In his Prerogative of Parliaments. p. 324.

the publick Plunder. *Aurelia* and *Fulvia* were the Two, whose Interest he found most his Account to espouse: His Acquaintance with Gallantries let him so far into the Secrets of the Sex, that he knew all the little Picques and Jealousies that Women are certain to entertain against each Other: He knew how Each desires to have the Preference, both in Esteem and Profit, of the other: And therefore, whenever he traffick'd for *Aurelia*, he inform'd her that *Fulvia* was a Stranger to her Dividend; and so, on the contrary, when he traded for *Fulvia*, he inform'd her that *Aurelia* knew as little of her Profits. But when the whole Matter came to be unravell'd to the Senate, and all young *Verres*'s Transactions were laid open, it was no longer a Secret, what immense Summs both these *Strumpets* got by partaking in the Gains of this *Conspiracy*.

MY Readers, perhaps, will be induc'd to think that *Rome* was a Place of signal Chastity at this Time, when Great Men were oblig'd to send so far for Harlots. On the contrary, it never was more vicious; and tho' this was the first Instance we find of having it done, 'tis certain that they afterwards repeated the same Extravagance. For the Emperor *Domitian* sent his Favourite *Aretinus* into *Germany*, to fetch some Harlots of the largest Breed from that Countrey. Great Men, wanton with Wealth, have strange Curiosities; they were wont to send to the same Place for *Mares* of a prodigious Size to draw their Chariots: and if the Accounts, which History gives us, be just, these *Ladies* were fit for either *Use*.

AURELIA Orestilla, 'tis said, was so over-joy'd at her unexpected Deliverance, that she resolv'd, by way of Thanks, to repair the Temple of *Venus* at her own proper Charge. She had in her Youth chosen *Venus* for her *Tutelar* Goddess, and continued, during her whole Life, the strictest Practiser of all her *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. Some Authors seem to intimate, that she and *Fulvia*, with the other Harlots, had all been chosen Priestesses of *Venus*; but this appears a very doubtful Piece of History; for if it be true that they had no *Personal Charms*, they could in no wise have been admitted to that Function. It is certain, however, that *Fulvia* took no inconsiderable Pains to initiate several young Ladies in the Mysteries of this Goddess, and discover'd to them the Secrets practised by the Women of their Country, when they sacrific'd to her. This *Fulvia* was particularly learned in the *Language* of that lascivious Deity, which she used with great Freedom before the Men, having observ'd that this was one of the Pleasures of some batter'd Lovers of that Age.

I MUST not forget here a memorable Circumstance, which happen'd when it was debated to call these Women and *young* VERRES to an Account: The Generality of the Senate overruling this Point, and *Cicero* finding it was in vain to press their Examination, he sat down, and, with a becoming Air of Resentment, said, *Well then, let them go unpunish'd; for the Anger of a State should not extend either to* Fools, *or* Women.

BUT tho' these *Courtezans* came off so well, those *inferior* Persons, who, as we have above hinted,

hinted, were only Machines and ſubſervient Agents, and were not acquainted with the iniquitous Schemes of the Conſpiracy, felt all the Severity of the Senate turn'd upon them, and were mulcted in their Eſtates, as the Laws had made no proviſionary Puniſhments to reach their Perſons. Theſe Sufferers, who knew well where all the Guilt lay, and what Artifice and Partiality were uſed to skreen the real Criminals, did not ſpare to proclaim their Sentiments of the Injury, in having a Puniſhment transferr'd upon them, which was due to the Crimes of others. One of them more bold, and more facetious, than the reſt, compar'd his Caſe to that of the condemn'd *Thief* in the *Fable*, who being exhorted to Repentance, ſaid, that he repented of one Crime from the Bottom of his Soul, and that was, that he did not ſteal enough. *I have ſtolen enough*, continued he, *for my ſelf only, but had I ſtolen enough for my Judges too, my Crimes then would have wanted no Exhortation to Repentance.* So bold, and publick, was the Raillery of the Times againſt the corrupt Part of the Senators.

NOR had *Quintus Annius* any better Opinion of the partial Proceedings in theſe Trials; for he himſelf being found guilty, as is mention'd in the firſt Part of our Memoirs, thought himſelf cruelly uſed by thoſe whom he expected to find his Friends: Many of whom did not ſtick to give their Voices againſt him; and *CATILINE* himſelf is reported to have ſaid, when it was debated in the Senate to mulct *Annius* in a Sum of Money, *Let us fine him to ſatisfy the People.*

THIS could not fail of provoking *Annius*, who, in an Oration which he made to the Senate in his own Defence, ſaid but little to palliate his own Guilt, but very artfully expos'd the Partiality and Corruption of the Senators, who were for condemning him, at the ſame Time that they acquitted others whom they knew to be more guilty. Nor did he forbear ſlily to inſinuate to them, that he knew the Reaſon was, becauſe he had not applied himſelf to them as They had; hinting at the *Bribes*, which all *Rome* knew were ſcatter'd among the *corrupt Senators*. And it was ſuſpected, that this Boldneſs, with which he had tax'd them, procur'd the Remiſſion of Part of his Puniſhment, to ſilence his Clamours.

LENTULUS, whom we have formerly obſerv'd to have been acquitted on his Trial, began now to be very buſy in the Senate; making Enquiries into the Conduct of others, and affecting a mighty Shew of Integrity. This was another Artifice of the Conſpirators, to put ſome of their own Body upon the proſecuting Part, which was a ſure Method of ſtifling thoſe Diſcoveries, which otherwiſe might have turn'd to their Prejudice. It may not be below our Notice, as Hiſtorians, to account for *Lentulus*'s obtaining the Sirname of *Sura*, which was from a particular Action that he us'd upon his Acquittal. Being a Man of a timorous Spirit, and weak Capacity, he was obſerv'd to be under great Terrors on the Day when he was call'd to the Queſtion: But as ſoon as he was clear'd by the Senate, in a Tranſport of Joy he ſtarted, and clapp'd

clapp'd his Hand upon the Calf of his Leg, which the *Romans* call'd *Sura*; intimating ſportingly, that if any thing could have been prov'd againſt him, he muſt have ſubmitted to the Penalty. *Et ob hoc deinceps* Suræ *inditum eſt illi Cognomen*, ſays *PLUTARCH**. And this he did in Alluſion to a certain Cuſtom which they had at *Tennis*, or ſome ſuch Exerciſe, that if any one in his Play by Negligence did let down the Ball, he was oblig'd to hold out his Leg, and have the Ball thrown at it: which Action, we are inform'd, the *Romans* call'd *Suram dare* †.

LUCIUS Beſtia was never queſtion'd for the Great Bribe which it was diſcover'd that he had receiv'd: but *Cicero* made an Oration againſt *Cethegus*, tho' he believ'd it would be of no Conſequence: he mov'd the Senate however, to ſhew his Deteſtation of the Man, that *Cethegus* might be puniſhed like a common *Gladiator*, which was to fight upon the Stage for the Diverſion of the People, till he was kill'd.

OLD *Verres* was, indeed, examin'd; but taking upon him to ſpeak loftily of himſelf, and with too little Reſpect of others, a *Roman* who was preſent, and ſhock'd at his Inſolence, call'd out aloud, *Ad Saturnalia* ||. This was ſpoken in Scorn and Contempt of the Man, and to ſilence him by putting him in Mind of what he had been: for the *Saturnalia* was a Feſtival, at which the Slaves in *Rome* were allow'd a Liberty of ſaying what they pleas'd in Railery of their Maſters.

* In Vitâ Ciceronis. † Cælius Rhodoginus. l. 2. c. 18. Turnebi Adverſaria. l. 7. c. 4.

|| Dion. Caſſius. Macrobius, &c.

WHILE

WHILE the City was thus amus'd with the Enquiries of the Senate, while all were hoping to see their Oppressors crush'd by the Iron Hand of Justice, *CATILINE* was triumphing in his own Address, and artful Management: Old *Volturtius* plaid a sly Game behind the Curtain, and was so defended by his Subtilty and the Faction, that his Name was not so much as call'd in Question; and the lusie *Hortensius* employ'd both his Tongue and Hands to bring the Senate over to a good Opinion of the *Conspirators*. For Oratory now was not his only Province; he was become like one of the common *Aqueducts* of the City, thro' whose Channels all the Streams of Corruption flow'd and were diffus'd; while the corrupted Members of the Senate used their poor Country under all its Distress, as it is seen wicked Men do, that, when a House is on fire, are call'd to its Assistance, and instead of endeavouring to extinguish the Flames, fall every one to plundering and carrying off what they can, and make an Advantage out of the publick Calamity.

THO' *Hortensius* had a Reputation for Oratory, he was infinitely inferior to *Porcius Latro*, whom we have often mention'd in our former Memoirs, and who was not only the finest Speaker, but was one of the most honest *Romans* at that time in the Senate. The Party of *Catiline* and *Hortensius* hated him, because they knew he was not to be corrupted: and we may say this of him, and some few more Patriots, that, at the *Crisis* when the greatest Villany shew'd it self, there was as great Virtue appear'd. In all his Orations

tions in the Senate, he divid into the Truth of every Argument, wherein the Service of the Republick was concern'd; and in the Course of prosecuting this Conspiracy, never fail'd of shewing the Wickedness of the Conspirators. He once had been imprison'd by *Catiline*'s Faction, for having expos'd the Malice of their Designs on the People, in an Oration which he made to the Senate. With these good Qualifications, he made no very eminent Figure for his *Wealth*, but still makes a very fine one for his *Honesty*. His Sentences were sweet, yet Masculine; and he deliver'd his Harangues, with a modest and becoming Gesture.

ANOTHER noble *Roman*, who strenuously oppos'd the *Catilinarian* Faction, was PETRELIUS. This Gentleman was descended of a *Patrician* Family, and adorn'd the Honours which he deriv'd from his Ancestors with the Lustre of his own Virtues. He was, as *Salust* says of him, *Homo maximè militaris, qui amplius annos triginta Tribunus, aut Præfectus, aut Legatus, aut Prætor, cum magnâ Gloriâ in Exercitu fuerat.* He had been both a *Centurion* and *Prætor*, or General, in the Army; had spent many Years in the Wars of *Rome* with infinite Honour, and bore the Marks of the Wounds which he receiv'd in his Country's Cause, having lost a Limb in her Service. But his military Prowess was not the most shining part of his Character; for he was generous, and very sincere in his Friendships: in all Debates of the Senate, whether they concern'd the publick or private Property, he was earnest and steady to that side of the Question, which had Justice to recommend it. In private

Life

Life he was remarkable for his Humanity to the Diſtreſt; and as it was the Cuſtom in thoſe Days for Great Men to have their *Clients*, who were Perſons they protected, not for Money, as our venal Lawyers of theſe Times do, but merely for Favour; all PETREIUS's *Clients* were Such, whoſe Misfortunes gave them a Title to his Patronage.

THERE were, no Doubt, ſome other Patriots of that Time, of great, tho' not of equal, Honour; but their Characters lie in a very narrow Compaſs, and their Vertues were leſs employ'd in combating the Villanies of the Conſpirators. Beſides, Hiſtorians, like Painters, are uſed to allow moſt Place to the principal Figures in their Story, and always to ſet them in the ſtrongeſt Point of Light, ſo that, wherever the Affair of *Catiline* is deſcrib'd, the Notoriety of him and his Faction ſo ingroſſes the Hiſtory, that a virtuous Character is thrown into the Shade, and ſerves only to brighten the Colours of their Villany.

IT was a very fine Reflexion of *Heſiod*, and particularly verified in the Caſe of CATILINE, that *no Report or Opinion abſolutely dies, which once is grounded in the Hearts of the Populace* *. Tho' CATILINE could evade the Cenſure of his Judges, he could not by the ſame Arts take off the Prejudices of the Multitude. They were ſatisfied of his Guilt, and felt the Effects of his impious Deſigns too ſeverely, ever to pardon

* Φήμη δ' ἐσθ' ἥτις τε μεγ' ἄνθρωποι ἀνέυρωσι,
Λαοὶ ὅτ' ἐμπεφάσιν.

him

him in their Minds, or to harbour any Opinion of his Honesty. They knew that where private Property was invaded, their Laws had made Provision for their Redress: *Nam Civibus cum sunt erepta Pecuniæ, civili ferè actione, & privato jure repetuntur.* But from *CATILINE* what Compensation was to be expected? Or, what, indeed, availed their idle Hatred? As they could not have Satisfaction on his Person, they were resolved to have it on his Character. They vented their Resentments in publick Clamours; they loaded him with Reproaches, and pursued him with Libels, if any thing could be call'd a Libel, on One who was the publick Mark of Infamy. They drew Parallels from the Abuses of Magistrates in other States, and applied them all to the pernicious Conduct of *CATILINE*, and their own Distress. Now were reviv'd and handed about the *Elegiack* Verses of *SOLON*, which he made on a like Calamity of the *Athenians*, and which make such a Figure in one of the Pleadings of *Demosthenes* *. As they were reckon'd very lively to paint the Frauds and Oppression of *CATILINE* and the Conspirators, and the Miseries under which *Rome* groan'd from their Extortions, I have thought proper to translate them from the *Greek*, and to give them a Place in these Memoirs.

SOLON had a Mind to shew, that tho' the State of *Athens* labour'd under very severe Distress from the Villany and Extortions of her Magistrates, yet the Gods would preserve her from utter Ruine; that Vengeance would over-

* Demosth. in Oratione de Falsâ Legatione.

take the Iniquity of her Oppreſſors, and the Realm flouriſh again, when Regard was had to Juſtice.

The *Elegiack* Verſes of *SOLON.*

AND ſhall this Empire fall? . . . It muſt not be,
So Jove *and the aſſembled Gods decree.*
Such ſtrong Protection heav'n-born Pallas *lends,*
And ev'ry baleful Influence defends.
With out-ſtretch'd Arms the Guardian Goddeſs waits,
Potent in Aid, and hovers o'er our Gates.
But we our ſelves againſt our ſelves are bent,
And ſtrive to diſappoint the Gods' Intent:
Provoking Ruine, while each Villain ſtains
His Hands *and* Conſcience *with* illegal *Gains.*
The Men in Office, *as the Vulgar* baſe,
With mean Corruption *their* high States *diſgrace.*
But inſtant Vengeance their bad Deeds provoke,
For mighty Crimes deſerve a mighty ſtroke.
Swol'n with Succeſs, in boundleſs Wealth elate,
Profuſe in Riot as o'ergrown Eſtate,
They know no Mean, but virtuous Rule deride,
And give a Looſe to Luxury and Pride.
Strong in Oppreſſion, and in Guilt grown bold,
They hoard up Treaſures of ill-gotten Gold.
The Publick Wealth is ſeiz'd by private Hands,
Nor ſpares their Rapine what the Shrine demands:
The Gods *and* People, *equally their Care,*
A common Spoil, *among themſelves they ſhare.*
Each, Harpy-like, invades his Neighbour's Rights;
And laughs at Juſtice, and her Edicts ſlights.
But ſhe, ſtern Goddeſs, all their Actions weighs,
Nor long their righteous Puniſhment delays.

Thus o'er the Realm a dang'rous Ulcer ſpreads,
And big Diſtreſs erects her Hydra's *Heads.*
The Soul of Liberty we once could boaſt,
Is dampt with Wants, and in Oppreſſion loſt.
Proud of her Gains imperious Slav'ry *ſtands,*
And meaſures out the unacquainted *Lands;*
The cheated Poor, to ſhun th' Oppreſſor's Snares,
Fly from their Native Clime, and Houſhold Cares.
Now Ruine, like a Stream, outragious grows,
And in its Way each private Dome o'erflows.
Not Wealth, nor Grandeur, can its Force rebate;
It ſeeks the Proud, and mocks their empty State.
Thence with remorſeleſs Haſte it hurries on,
And with the Pallace *ſweeps the* Cottage *down.*

YE Men of Athens, *to my Words attend,*
And hear the Counſel of his Country's Friend:
Warn'd by Misfortunes, e'er it be too late,
Learn, that Injuſtice may o'er-turn a State.
Revere the Goddeſs, and her awful Scale;
And let the Cries of the oppreſt prevail.
Shall cunning Traytors, skreen'd by Men in Pow'r,
Your People pillage, and your Wealth devour?
No; let the Strength, and Rigour, of the Law
Purſue the Spoilers, and Corruption awe.
But happy is the Land, where Juſtice reigns;
She binds the daring Villain down in Chains;
Checks the proud Heart, makes Contumely bow,
And ſmooths the ſawcy ſupercilious Brow.
Roots up unripen'd Guilt, e'er ſhot to height;
And makes the Law's too ſubtle Windings ſtrait.
Strife and Contention in her Preſence ceaſe,
And turn to Order, Harmony, *and* Peace.

THE miſerable Condition of the *Athenian* People, as expreſs'd in theſe Verſes, and which had

had a great Reſemblance to the Miſeries of *Rome*, under the Depredations of *CATILINE* and the *Conſpirators*, puts me in Mind of a Maxim, which has ſomething in it the more extraordinary, as it was deliver'd in an Arbitrary Government: That it is the Duty of all Magiſtrates to defend the People; for their Caſe muſt be miſerable, when they are forc'd to uſe their Hands to defend themſelves againſt the *Violences* of the *Great*, which ſhould be employ'd in getting the *Subſiſtance* of *Life*. ‖

WHEN the Diſcontents of *Rome* were ſo high, and the Wants of private Families ſo preſſing, it is to be admir'd that *CATILINE* did not fall by ſome Tumult of the Populace: But their Reſentments purſued him not with this kind of Violence: They aſſaulted him only with their Tongues and Pens, which had indeed the Effect of galling his Pride, and letting him underſtand how univerſally he was hated.

CATILINE was of a very moody peeviſh Temper, full of Supicion, and ſoon mov'd to Anger upon any Inſult. And, as it is obſerv'd of People that are deaf, whenever they ſee a Laugh, or Smile, in Company, they are apt to think themſelves the Objects of Raillery, and interpret every thing as a Reflection upon their Infirmities: So *CATILINE* underſtood every thing that was ſaid, or writ, in his Time of other Men, to be levell'd at him. If a Writer happen'd

‖ Il faut proteger les peuples; Dieu leur a donné des bras pour gagner leur vie, plûtôt que pour ſe defendre contre la Violence des Grands.

L'Abbé de Bellegarde.

happen'd to ſpeak with Honour of *Brutus*, or *Scævola*, the *Horatii*, or *Decii*, he took this to be done with a Deſign of Libelling him, by ſetting their Actions in Oppoſition to his. If, on the contrary, the Hiſtorian repreſented the Actions of infamous Men, whether Antient or Modern, *Roman* or *Barbarian*, this was ſtill a ſharper Satire; for he applied it all home to himſelf.

NOR did *CATILINE* alone, but the reſt of the *Conſpirators* likewiſe, take to themſelves every Invective that was either ſpoken, or penn'd, againſt wicked Men: And, by their Clamours againſt the Authors, kept the Reſentments of the People awake; who now believ'd that all which had been alledg'd againſt them was true; ſo that Things which at firſt were only read for *Amuſement*, by theſe Men's *Comments* and *Conſtructions* to themſelves, were underſtood in a *Senſe* different from what had been before *ſuſpected*. They beſt knew, indeed, whether the Copies were like them, or no, and therefore could beſt make the Application. And, ſince they were the firſt, who took all Infamy to themſelves, it is no Wonder if the *Romans*, who hated them, agreed to let them have it.

BUT their Capriciouſneſs on this Subject was ſo odd and Tyrannical, that it was a Crime for Men to complain of what they ſuffer'd. It was like putting Men upon the Rack, and forbidding them to groan. Such were the Miſeries of theſe Times; yet, in the midſt of all this, *CATILINE* was well enough pleas'd to ſee *Hortenſius* abus'd, and *Hortenſius* ſmil'd, with a malignant Satisfaction, at all the Sarcaſms which were level'd againſt

gainſt *CATILINE*; For, as we have before obſerv'd, they both envied and hated one another.

BUT *Hortenſius*, who was now as much hated as *CATILINE*, was a much better Diſſembler of his Reſentments; he appear'd very indifferent to every thing that was ſpoken againſt him; and when his Corruptions were directly thrown in his Face, in ſeveral witty Reflexions by the honeſt Part of the Senate, (for this was all that they were able to do, the Taint of *Bribery* had ſo ſpread itſelf, and was become, as *Saluſt* obſerves, a Contagious Diſtemper, †) *Hortenſius* was neither mov'd, nor aſham'd. All the ſevere Truths which were utter'd of him, could never raiſe a Bluſh upon his Cheek; his Face was always the ſame, and tho' his Actions look'd ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, they, who accus'd him of Fickleneſs, might with the ſame Juſtice accuſe the Weather-cock; which, tho' it often turns, is ſtill true to the Wind: So in all the Doubles that *Hortenſius* made, he was zealouſly true to his Intereſt.

I MUST not forget to obſerve, that all the Great Men of *Rome* were Profeſſors of one Sect or other, of *Philoſophy*; and the Tenets of that Sect which they eſpous'd, were the Springs and Juſtification of all their Actions.

CATILINE and *Hortenſius* were both preſum'd to be of the *Epicurean* Perſwaſion. This Sect

† Tanta vis morbi, atque uti Tabes, pleroſque civium animos invaſerat. Sal. in Bello Catilinario.

Sect place their Happiness in the sensual Enjoyments of this Life; it is their Opinion, that the Gods never concern themselves with the good or bad Actions of Men, but leave all Things to be govern'd by Chance. That Fame and Reputation are idle Things, meer Bubbles rais'd to frighten Fools from the Pursuit of their Interests; therefore they ought to despise what Men say of them, either now, or hereafter. *Hortensius* adher'd to these Tenets very religiously: And as to one Part of them, he troubled himself no more about the Gods, than he thought the Gods concern'd themselves about him.

I SHALL think it no Digression to enlarge a little upon the Doctrines of the *Epicureans*, as it will give a better Account of the Men whose History I am writing, than the strictest Detail of their Actions could furnish.

THEIR Reason for despising Fame seems to be this, because they can find no Profit in the Praises and Commendations of Posterity. As they denied a Providence, they held that there was no Reward or Punishment hereafter. By such Principles they were a Sect pernicious to all Society. Government, they said, proceeded from Man's natural Imperfections, therefore he, who by Cunning, Strength, or Deceit, had got the Mastery of others, was become their Lord by Right, and might rob them of their Possessions and Lives too, if either were an Obstacle to the Prosecution of his Wishes.

NOW, Man being by Nature ambitious of Rule, if an *Epicurean* once came to be a Governour,

nour, he needed not to be concern'd at what he did, so he was above Punishment. The Prospect of Profit might very well lead him on to Villany; nor can it be wonder'd, that he should stick at no Wickedness, which was attended with Pleasure.

FOR all that these Philosophers thought the Causes of Virtues were Fear and Distrust; they endeavour'd to disgrace Religion by representing it as a Trick of State, and that it was supported by Laws, out of Policy, to keep Men in Awe. He, therefore, that was an *Epicurean*, was by Consequence a Traytor to his Country, and a Disturber of the Common-wealth: for the Cause of the Gods and of Men is the same.

THEY of this Sect who were private Men, were Debauchées; and they, who came to be Great and Powerful, were Oppressors, Plunderers, and Betrayers of Justice. By their wicked Doctrines they endeavoured to stifle the Clamours of Conscience, and would not start Fears to disturb their soft Hours, nor distract themselves with Reflections on a future State, which must be melancholy to Men of their Lives. They commenc'd Villains, and then endeavour'd to reconcile themselves to the Profession by an impious Philosophy, that rooted up the very Foundations of all Morality, and must in time overturn all Societies. For it being their Interest that there should be no Gods, they labour'd to believe what they wish'd might be. And one of their Arguments against a divine Being, was (a Sophistry drawn from their own sordid Principles) that Interest is the Cause of all Good Nature;

ture, and the only Spring of Action. And what Intereſt could the Gods have, ſay they, in making Man, and this Sublunary World? What Return could they expect, or what Happineſs receive from Man, to induce them to do all this? By ſuch impious and ſhallow Abſurdities of Reaſoning, ſtrove they to rob the Gods of their Benevolence: whereas all Good Men know, that ſingle Benevolence is a ſtrong Motive to Action; and, even among our ſelves, he is hated who minds nothing but his own Intereſt, and makes That the Meaſure of all his Actions. *LUCRETIUS*, indeed, pretends to compliment this Sect, of which he was a Member, by inſinuating that their Lives were much better than their Doctrines. But, by the Actions of theſe Men, whoſe Hiſtory I am writing, I muſt leave the Readers to judge of that Point.

THE Conſequence of the Political Tenets of this Sect, was, that the Weak were by Nature Slaves to the Strong, the Innocent to the Crafty, and the Virtuous to Villains: And, it is to be obſerv'd, that in all Things they acted up to their impious Principles.

THEIR Maſter *Epicurus* ſays, that *Diagoras* turn'd Atheiſt, becauſe he did not ſee immediate Vengeance fall on Perſons that were perjur'd: And *Velleius Paterculus*, a Follower of this Sect, produces the long and proſperous Reign of *Oreſtes*, who had murther'd *Pyrrhus*, to prove, that if there were Gods, they had approv'd of Murther. The *Platoniſts* oppos'd theſe, who ſaid it was the End of good Men to be like God; and that this Imitation is the Life of the Soul.

PLUTARCH has thrown down the boasted Pillar of Atheism rais'd by the *Epicureans*, with one easy and natural Argument: That the Gods do not presently punish wicked Men, that they may have Time to become better. If *Miltiades*, says he, had been destroy'd, while he acted the Part of a Tyrant; if *Cimon* in his Incest, or *Themistocles* in his Debaucheries, what had become of *Marathon*, *Erymedon*, and *Dianium*; what of the Glory and Liberty of the *Athenians*? *PLUTARCH* likewise maintains, that wicked Men are sometimes spar'd to be the Scourges of other wicked Men, and to execute the just Judgments of the Gods. This is the Case of all Tyrants; and for these Causes was *Phalaris* particularly sent to plague the *Agrigentines*.

SO Men, sometimes, after the Example of the Gods, chuse out the most wicked Persons to be the Instruments of publick Justice: Such, for the most part, are *Lictors* and *Jailers*, and sometimes even the *Judges* themselves. There is a famous Passage in *Greek* History, to prove why wicked Men are suffer'd to prosper. *Cedrenus* tells us, that when a Monk enquir'd of God why he suffer'd cruel *Phocas*, treacherous to his Master *Mauritius*, and an implacable Enemy to the Christians, to obtain the Empire, and enjoy Power large as his Malice; a Voice gave this Answer to his Demand, Because I could find none worse to scourge the Wickedness of the Citizens. ---We may presume, it was the same *Cause* that induc'd Providence to suffer *CATILINE* to escape *Punishment*, *LUCIUS BESTIA* to be a *Judge*,

Judge, and *HORTENSIUS* to ride the *Roman* Senate.

I AM fearful that I am taking too wide a Scope on this Part of the Subject, and therefore muſt contract the Argument. There were ſome, who would have it that *CATILINE* was a *Sceptick*, whoſe Doctrine it is to doubt of every Thing. Freedom of Opinion, and Serenity of Mind, is what they ſet up for: Their Notions of Right and Wrong were confin'd to the Laws of their Country; and the Cuſtoms, or Worſhip, of the City or Nation, where they liv'd, determin'd their Religion. This is a Proof that *CATILINE* could not be a *Sceptick*, but muſt be an *Epicurean*, as well as *HORTENSIUS*.

IT was deſign'd much to the Diſadvantage of *CATO*, that he was eſteem'd a *Cynick*, and accus'd of the Moroſeneſs in his Manners, which that *Sect* particularly affected. But happy had it been for *Rome*, if the *Conſpirators* had all been *Cynicks*, ſince that Moroſeneſs was only ſhewn in Diſcountenance of Vice and Villany.

HORTENSIUS, on the other Hand, had that Sort of Politeneſs in his Manners which the *Romans* call'd *Urbanity*: A Qualification which he found of eminent Service, ſince without it he could not have been endur'd among Men, ſo flagrant were his Corruptions.

IT may ſeem at firſt a very odd Tranſition to turn from the *Religion* of *CATILINE* to his *Gallantries*: But as his Principles were founded only to ſupport his Pleaſures, ſo his Pleaſures

were as bad and extravagant as his Principles. In Spight of the univerſal Odium that purſued him, and the many Invectives that were levell'd at his Character, he labour'd much to appear eaſy, and applied himſelf to thoſe vicious Diverſions, in the Purſuit of which he was very vehement, and indefatigable.

LUXURY, as we have obſerv'd, was now in its Height as well as Poverty, in the *Roman* Republick: And what made the People more unhappy than ever they had been before, made the Great Ones drunk with Riotings, and wanton with Abundance. Therefore did they ſtrain their Inventions to explore new Ways of gratifying their ſenſual Appetites; Nature was forſaken, and abus'd in their Pleaſures; and Love, with which by her Laws Man was allow'd to gratify his Paſſions, (for ſhe gives us not Deſires in vain,) was perverted to a moſt abominable Uſe.

CATILINE was *publick* and *prepoſterous* in this Sort of Gallantry: Nor was he alone or ſingular in the Practice of it. For the *Pathicks*, and *Cinædi*, began to be in the greateſt Requeſt in thoſe Times, and to be look'd upon as the fine Gentlemen of the Age. Of theſe, Numbers reſorted to *CATILINE*'s Houſe, and found Entertainment, who were publickly reported not to have any Regard to their Modeſty. *

THESE

* Scio fuiſſe nonnullos, qui ita exiſtumarent, juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honeſtè pudicitiam habuiſſe.

Sal. in Bell. Catil.

THESE Sallies of *unnatural* Lewdneſs muſt proceed from Surfeits of Pleaſure, or from a reſtleſs Deſire of making Diſcoveries, more unreaſonable than his, who, not content with the World that we enjoy'd, would toil to diſcover a new one. In ſhort, nothing that was common could go down with theſe luxurious Men. A Poet of ours, I remember, talks ſomewhere of diving into the Bottom of the Sea, to pluck up drown'd Honour by the Locks: Theſe Men, on the other Hand, were for diving into the very Sinks of Nature, in the Queſt of infamous Pleaſure. But the *Romans*, who hated *CATILINE*, were very ſevere in their Reflexions upon his Gallantries; and were wont to ſay, that he was forc'd upon theſe *prepoſterous* Ways of ſolacing himſelf, becauſe he frighten'd Love away from him with his Looks.

MY Readers, perhaps, may be apt to think, that the Gallantries of *CATILINE* are foreign to the Nature of theſe Memoirs; but ſince *Sallust* and *Plutarch* have both taken Notice of them, I could not paſs them over in Silence with any Juſtice. For, in thoſe Orations which were ſpoken againſt him in the Senate, when he was preſent, the Licentiouſneſs of his Amours was thrown in his Face, and made an Aggravation of his other Vices. *Julius Cæſar*, particularly, tho' he was a Man of Pleaſure and free Converſation, complains, that by the Diſſoluteneſs of *CATILINE*, *rapi & Virgines & Pueros*: A Sentence which I ſhall forbear to tranſlate out of Regard to *Decency*; and leſt, accidentally, theſe *Memoirs* ſhould fall into the Hands of the *Ladies*.

BUT,

BUT, to return from those Vices, which were only personal in Him, to those by which the Commonwealth was affected. Never was the Republick in a more desperate Condition: An Impunity was granted to the highest Crimes; immense Riches were in the Hands of a few Great Ones; and Loss, Discredit and Ruin oppress'd the State in general. † These were all the Consequences that *CATILINE*'s Ambition wish'd for; all his Aims of Happiness were centred in the Distress of his Country: Now, having secur'd himself from his deserv'd Punishment, strengthen'd his Party by a Body of infamous Senators bought over by Bribes, and put himself in a Capacity of saving his Fellow-Conspirators, yet was he not content, but seem'd to have gain'd but half his Point. 'Tis true, he had Possession of the People's Money, and he still maintain'd his Dignity in the Commonwealth; but this was not enough to satisfy him; the most material Thing was left undone, and that was the subverting the Constitution; the Attempt of which, at last, indeed, cost him his Life.

MACHIAVEL is very curious in his Remarks upon the Government of the *Decemvirate* in *Rome*: And, particularly, upon the Conduct of *Appius*, who was at the Head of this Magistracy. This *Appius* took all the prudential Steps imaginable to get himself plac'd at the Top of the Administration; but he was wanting in his Care

† Scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentes maximæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Sal. Ibid.

Care afterwards, to ſecure and eſtabliſh himſelf in that Tyranny. Our *CATILINE* had all the Errors of *Appius* in his Eye, which ſerv'd him as a Sea-Mark, to ſhun the Rock on which the Other ſplit.

UPON this Occaſion, I think, it is not going out of the Way to make a ſhort Compariſon betwixt *APPIUS* and *CATILINE*.

THE Former was ſo excellent a Diſſembler of his Nature, that by careſſing the People, by always joining with them againſt the *Nobility*, he ſtole into their good Opinions, and was look'd upon as a true Patriot. The *Nobility* were very jealous, and uneaſy at the Power of the *Tribunes*, who, as we have obſerv'd before, were very tenacious of the People's Liberties; and the People, on their Side, inveigh'd as much againſt the Power of the *Conſuls*. *APPIUS* cheriſhed theſe Diſcontents for a while, but at length propos'd a Method of reconciling Matters, which was by altering the Conſtitution, and ſetting up another Form of Government, which was that of the *Decemviri*.

THIS Scheme both Nobility and People concurr'd in; and *Appius*, who was choſen One, ſoon made himſelf their Principal. But no ſooner was he ſtept into the Tyrant's Seat, than, as *Livy* tells us, he threw off the Maſk of Hypocriſy, *finem fecit ferendæ alienæ perſonæ*: He then ſhew'd the Native Pride of his Heart, and infected all his Companions with his own Vices. He deſpis'd the Senate, and us'd the People ill. Now began the Populace to think, with Sorrow, on the Loſs of their *Tribunes*; and the Nobility were not much

much concern'd at this their Affliction, hoping that the Commons, being weary of the Tyranny, would desire to have their Consuls restor'd: *Ut ipsi tedio præsentium Consules desiderentur.* Upon which Circumstance *Machiavel* observes, that tho' the Nobility love to tyrannize, yet They, who have no Share in the Tyranny, always hate the Tyrants.

THE People now perceiving their Error, and the Villany of *Appius*, took from thence an Occasion to seek the Breath of Liberty: The Fear of losing which had brought the Commonwealth into this Misery. †

THINGS being in this Condition, the only Step which *Appius* took to secure himself and his Brother Tyrants, was, by endeavouring to make a Party among the most licentious of the Nobility, by condemning several Persons as Delinquents, and distributing their Estates amongst his Faction. But This was not found sufficient; for, *then* it was a Shame to take a *Bribe*, and the Number that could be corrupted was very small.

WHEN the *Volscians* and *Sabines*, therefore, made War against the *Romans*, the Tyrants found themselves in great Distress; for they knew the People would not inrol for the Wars; and if they call'd the Senate together to take Order about it, they foresaw this might be dangerous to themselves. Out of mere Necessity, however, they

† Et inde Libertatis captare auram, unde Servitutem timendo, in eum Statum rempublicam adduxerat. Livy.

they were reduc'd to take the latter Courſe: And, the Senate being ſummon'd, began immediately to fall on the Tyrants; and *Valerius* and *Horatius* had the Courage to accuſe them of all their Villanies; which had this Effect, that having parted the Tyrants, they threw *Appius* and another into Priſon, who there deſtroy'd themſelves, while the Others made their Eſcape privately from *Rome*: And the Conſular Government being reſtor'd, they ſoon defeated the Attempts of their Enemies.

WHAT we have to obſerve upon This, is, the Difference betwixt the Conduct of *Appius* and *Catiline*. For *Catiline* neglected the firſt Steps taken by *Appius*, to wit, Thoſe of making himſelf Popular. But the true Reaſon was, as we may ſuppoſe at this Diſtance, he lay under ſuch invincible Prejudices, that he judg'd it impoſſible to make himſelf ſo. But having got into Office by other Methods, he bent all his Precautions to ſecure the After-Game; and this he effected, by having a ſtanding Army diſpers'd through the Country of the *Romans*, by buying the Friendſhip of the moſt powerful Neighbours of the *Roman* State; and not only That, but engaging them to ſend great Forces into the Territories of *Rome*, in Caſe they ſhould make a Struggle for their Liberties.

HAD *Appius* taken the ſame Method, his Tyranny muſt have been eſtabliſh'd, or, at leaſt, muſt have laſted much longer. Nor was the Conduct of the *Volſcians* and *Sabines* at all to be eſteem'd Politick in this War; who thereby awak'd the Courage of the *Romans*, and hinder'd them from being ruin'd.

BUT the Neighbours of the *Romans*, in the Time of *Catiline*, acted with conſummate Wiſdom and Policy; in lying ſtill, and ſuffering *Catiline* and the Conſpirators to do that Work more effectually, than they could have done by Arms: I mean the ruining and enſlaving that mighty People. Three times was *Rome* ſav'd by the Miſ-Conduct of her Enemies, who fell upon her at a Time when ſhe was almoſt deſtroy'd by Tyranny and Faction: Wherefore, our *Italian* Politician ſays, That it is a wrong Courſe to aſſail Cities fallen into Diſcord among themſelves: For the Cauſes of Diſcord in Commonwealths being *Idleneſs* and *Peace*, and theſe attended with *Covetouſneſs* and *Ambition*, encourage ſome more *bold* and *wicked* than the reſt, to attempt *Tyranny*. And in a State, or Commonwealth, where that is deſigned, you are rather to ſeek to ruin them by Artifices of Peace: The firſt Step to which, would be to make Alliances with that State, and, if poſſible, to have yourſelf reputed their ſure and confident Friend. Thus, when they come to be divided, you are to aſſiſt, and abett, as ſecretly as you can, that Side which attempts the Tyranny; that the People finding themſelves inſlav'd, and being glad to embrace any Opportunity of Revenge on their Oppreſſors, may be eaſily induc'd to throw themſelves under your *Protection*, and ſo become an *eaſy Conqueſt*.

IF this Part be well play'd, as *MACHIAVEL* obſerves, it ſeldom fails of having the Succeſs deſign'd. And it was by this Trick that the *Florentines* ruin'd the City of *Piſtoya*, and made themſelves Maſters of it: They privately favour'd

vour'd the Tyrannous Faction, but with ſo much Secreſy, that the People of that City knew nothing of it, and took the *Florentines* to be their Friends: Wherefore, being tir'd of the Government of their Uſurpers, they threw themſelves under the Protection of the *Florentines*, who by theſe Means became Maſters of the Place without ſtriking a Blow for it.

TO make an Application of this to our Hiſtory, it is highly probable, that had the *Gauls* or *Belgians* invaded *Rome* juſt at the Beginning of *CATILINE*'s Conſpiracy, that infamous Senate, which afterwards protected, had been oblig'd to have ſacrific'd the *Conſpirators*, to induce the People to turn againſt the common Enemy; and, of Conſequence, the Commonwealth would have been ſav'd: But theſe *Barbarians* took a wiſer Courſe in privately abetting the *Conſpiracy*, and in accepting Money from the Faction to make Alliances with them. And this was the firſt Time that ever the *Romans* paid Money to buy the Friendſhip of their Neighbours.

IT is true, that when they were beſieg'd in the *Capitol* by the *Gauls*, being reduc'd by Famine, they came to Terms of Agreement to redeem themſelves for a certain Sum of Money: But as ſoon as *Camillus* arriv'd with an Army to their Relief, he broke the Scales in which the Gold was weighing: Upon which *Titus Livy* makes this memorable Remark, That Fortune brought this to paſs, that the *Romans* might not have the Diſhonour of owing their Lives to Gold: *ne Romani, auro redempti, non viverent.*

MACHIAVEL, I remember, expatiates upon this Subject, and lays it down for a Maxim, that *Commonwealths*, or *Princes*, who are *wise* or *powerful*, never seek by *Money* to make *Alliances* with others, but by the *Reputation* of their *Valour*, or their *Conduct*. ||

* TO prove this, he appeals to the *Roman* Commonwealth for an Example, who in all the Course of their glorious Actions, never overcame their Enemies, extended their Territories, or purchas'd the mercenary Friendship of their Neighbours, by the Influence of their Money, but the Power of their Arms. † And among other Signs, says this Politician, by which Men may judge of the Power of a Commonwealth, they are to take Notice in what manner it lives with its Neighbouring States. For, when Affairs are so manag'd, that its Neighbours are forc'd to become its *Tributaries*, in order to maintain a Friendship with it, it is a certain Sign that it is *great*, *wise*, and *powerful*: But when such Neighbours, tho' *inferior* in *Power*, draw Money from

|| Le Republiche, e gli Principi veramente potenti, non comperano l'amicitia con danari, mà con la virtù, & con la riputatione delle forze. *Machiav.* Discorsi sopra *Livio*, l. 2, c. 30.

* Dove si vede, che mai acquistarono terre con danari, mai fecero pace con danari, mà sempre con la virtù dell' armi. *Idem* ibid.

† Et tra gli segni per i quali si conosse la potenza d'uno Stato, è, vedere, come e'vive con gli vicini suoi; et quando e'si governa in modo, che i vicini (per haverlo amico,) siano suoi pensionarii, allhora è certo segno che quello Stato è potente; mà quando detti vicini (ancora che inferiori a lui) traggono di quello danari, all' hora è segno grande di debolezza di quello. *Idem* ibid.

from it, This is as unanſwerable a Proof of its *Weakneſs* and *Decay*.

THE ſame Great Stateſman brings a freſh Inſtance from *Florence*, his own Country: But his Hiſtory there is foreign to our Purpoſe. Many States in their Decay, 'tis certain, have been forced to pay for the Alliance of their Neighbours: ‖ Neither are the *Florentines*, continues our Author, the only People who have liv'd in this Baſeneſs; but the *Venetians*, and the King of *France*, who is a Prince of great Dominions, lives tributary to the *Swiſs* and to the King of *England*. The Reaſon whereof is, that he diſarms his Subjects; and that This King, and the States before-mentioned, had rather enjoy a *preſent Profit*, to *rack* and *ſqueeze* their People, in order to avoid an imaginary, rather than a real Danger, than to take ſuch Meaſures, as might give their States *Security* and *laſting Happineſs*.

CATILINE, in like Manner, who knew the Decays of the *Roman* State, and how her Conſtitution was weaken'd and ſhatter'd from *SYLLA*'s *Uſurpation*, took Care, as we have above hinted, to ſtrengthen his Faction at Home with the Alliances of Neighbouring States. To this End large Sums were paid, and more prodigal Promiſes

‖ Ne ſono in queſta viltà viſſuti ſolo i Fiorentini, mà i Vinitiani, et il Re di Francia, il quale, con un tanto regno, vive tributario de Suizzeſi, et del Re d'Inghilterra. Il che tutto naſce dà lo havere diſarmati i popoli ſuoi, et havere più toſto voluto quel Re, et gli altri prenominati, godersi un preſente Utile, di potere ſaccheggiare i popoli, et fuggire uno imaginato, più toſto che vero pericolo, che far coſe che gli aſſecurino, et faccino i loro Stati felici in perpetuo. *Idem* ibid.

miſes ſent, to the *Allobroges*, to lend him their Aſſiſtance, in Caſe he ſhould fail of ſucceeding with the Senate.

But the Precautions of the Wicked do not alwas anſwer the End of their Projectors. Providence ſometimes interferes with an unſeen Hand, and gives a Turn to the moſt concerted Counſels. Our own Paſſions are made the Inſtruments to diſappoint our Plots and Cunning. Tho' *CATILINE* now rioted in the Spoils of a ruin'd People, tho' by his Arts he had evaded the Proſecution of an enquiring Senate, tho' he could ſeem to deſpiſe the *Odium* and Reproaches of the Populace, yet he could not ſo far conquer his Reſentments, as quietly to ſit down with thoſe ſharp and generous Invectives, which *CICERO* made againſt him in the following Speech.

The † *Speech of* CICERO *to* CATILINE.

HOW long, pernicious CATILINE, *wilt thou abuſe our Patience? How long will that unbridled Fury mock our Vengeance? Does neither the Place, nor Reſpect of ſo many Senators, work upon Thee? Doſt thou not ſee thy Counſels all laid open, all thy dark Plots diſcover'd to the Senate? Is there a Man in this Aſſembly ignorant of thy Villanies, if he would freely ſpeak his Conſcience?* --- *His* Seal, *his* Hand, *and*

† Quouſque tandem abutêre, Catilina, patientiâ noſtrâ? quamdiu etiam Furor iſte tuus nos eludet? Nihil hic munitiſſimus habendi Senatûs locus, nihil horum ora vultuſq; moverunt? Patere tua Conſilia non ſentis? Conſtrictam jam omnium horum Conſcientiâ teneri Conjurationem tuam non vides? Tenentur Literæ, Signa, Manus, denique uniuſ-

and the Confeſſion *of all his* Confederates *have made it plain. O the depravʼd Manners of a vicious Age! The* Conſul *ſees thy Guilt, the* Senate *knows it all, yet this Man* lives;——*not only* lives, *but comes among us in the* Senate, *here ſits and takes a Part in* Publick Councils, *looks round upon us, and with his Eyes marks whom he ſhall deſtroy. Yet we, good eaſy Men, think we have ſatisfied the State, becauſe we have eſcapʼd the Fury of this Man. There was a virtue once in* Rome, *when honourable Men would have purſued a* traiterous Citizen *with greater Vengeance than a* publick Enemy. *The Law is ſtill the ſame, nor is the Authority of the Senate leſs: It is we that are wanting to our ſelves. Theſe twenty days has that Decree lain by, like a ſharp Sword within its Scabbard, which ought to cut thee off, proud* CATILINE. *Yet ſtill thou liveſt, ſafe within our Walls, ſitʼſt in our Councils,* and art, every Hour, plotting ſome fatal Miſchief to the State.

WHY

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uniuſcujuſque confeſſio. O tempora! O mores! Senatus hoc intelligit, Conſul videt, hic tamen vivit: Vivit? Immò verò etiam in Senatum venit, fit publici Conſilii Particeps: notat, & deſignat oculis ad Cædem unumquemque noſtrûm. Nos autem, viri fortes, ſatisfacere Reipublicæ videmur, ſi iſtius furorem ac tela vitemus. Fuit, fuit iſta quondam in hâc Republicâ Virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus ſuppliciis Civem perniciosum, quàm acerbiſſimum hoſtem coercerent. Habemus enim Senatûs-Conſultum in te, Catilina, vehemens & grave: Non deeſt Reipublicæ Conſilium, neque Auctoritas hujus Ordinis: Nos, nos, dico, apertè Conſules deſumus. At nos vigeſimum jam diem patimur hebeſcere aciem horum auctoritatis: Habemus enim hujuſmodi Senatûs-Conſultum, verùntamen incluſum in tabulis, tanquàm gladium in vaginâ reconditum, quò ex Senatûs-Conſulto confeſtim interfectum te eſſe, Catilina, convenit: Te, interſtinam aliquam quotidiè perniciem Reipublicæ molientem.

WHY were not the Seats left empty at thy Entrance, why did not all the Conſular *Men depart, and leave their Places when thou ſateſt down among them? Why ſhun'd they not thee, as they would a Plague, or Ruine? Surely, if my Slaves at Home look'd on me with half that Fear and Horror, with which thy fellow Citizens regard thee, I ſhould forſake my Houſe. Yet thou doſt impudently remain among us. Why doſt thou not go forth, inſulting Man, to voluntary Flight and Baniſhment? Condemn thy ſelf, and free the Commonwealth, and People, of their Fears. Let Solitude receive thee, for that will ſit thee beſt. Why doſt thou ſtare about? They all conſent to it: Their ſilent Wills condemn thee, tho' thou haſt ſcap'd the Authority of their Voices. While they ſit ſilent thus, they approve thy Exile; and while they ſuffer me to mention, they proclaim it.*

THIS Harangue ſo provok'd *CATILINE*, that without making any Reply he left the *Senate* and *Rome*; gathering together ſome of thoſe Troops, which, as we have above taken notice, he caus'd to be quarter'd in the *Italian* Towns. With theſe he made towards the City, deſperately reſolving to ſacrifice *Cicero*, and every honeſt Man there: for he had left *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* behind within the Walls, with private Orders,

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lientem. —— Servi, mehercle, mei, ſi me iſto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes Cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: Tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera Rempublicam metu: In Exilium ſi hanc vocem expectas, proficiſcere. Quid eſt, Catilina? Ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum Silentium? patiuntur: tacent; Quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perſpicis. De te, autem, Catilina, cum quieſcunt, probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent, clamant. Cic. contrà Catilin.

ders, before his Departure, upon a certain Night to ſet the City on Fire, to tear up all the Aquæducts, that no Water might be found to quench it, and in the Hurry to cut the Throats of every *Roman*, who in the late Examination would not be brib'd to their Party.

BUT theſe his horrid Intents, by the Vigilance of *CICERO*, were prevented; and noble *PETREIUS*, whom we have already deſcrib'd, going forth with a Body of brave and honeſt *Romans*, fell upon *CATILINE*, and his Mercenaries, and attack'd them ſo vigorouſly, that moſt of them were left dead on the Spot. When the Body of *CATILINE* was found, as *SALUST* obſerves, his dead Looks retain'd the *Fierceneſs* of him when living, and the *Terrors* of his *Face* ſtill expreſs'd an Image of his *unnatural Mind*: *---Repertus eſt, paululum etiàm ſpirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens.*

FINIS.

dere, before his Departure, upon a certain Night to fet the City on Fire, to tear up all the Aqueducts, that no Water might be found to quench it, and in the Hurry to cut the Throats of every Roman, who in the late Examination would not be brib'd to their Party.

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